

Message Text

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DRAFTED BY CSCE COMMISSION:AFRIENDLY; EUR/RPM:JCKORNBLUM
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TO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE

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FOR SLETZINGER FROM KORNBLUM-BELGRADE FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: CSCE, OCON

SUBJECT: DRAFT BASKET I SPEECH

FOLLOWING IS THE DRAFT REQUESTED BY JUSTICE GOLDBERG,
OF A SPEECH ON THE PROGRESS OF THE BELGRADE REVIEW
DRAFTED BY ALFRED FRIENDLY, JR. OF THE CSCE COMMISSION.
IT CONCENTRATES ON CONDITIONS FOR CONDUCTING THE REVIEW --
INCLUDING THE REASONS FOR CITING SPECIFIC CASES -- WITHOUT
SUGGESTING THAT THE REVIEW PHASE IS ENDING OR NEARING
AN END. THE DRAFT HAS NOT YET BEEN READ IN THE
INTERESTED STATE DEPARTMENT BUREAUS, BUT IT WILL BE
CIRCULATED FOR COMMENT TO THEM, AND THEIR COMMENTS, AS
APPROPRIATE, WILL BE TRANSMITTED TO THE DELEGATION FOR
RECEIPT BEFORE THE PLANNED DELIVERY OF THE SPEECH
WEDNESDAY NOVEMBER NINE.

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BEGIN TEXT.

1. AS THE CONFERENCE PROCEEDS WITH THE FIRST ITEM
ON ITS AGENDA, MR. PRESIDENT, THE UNITED STATES
DELEGATION WISHES TO COMMENT TODAY ON THE PROGRESS
THAT HAS BEEN MADE AND THE SERIOUS OBSTACLES THAT
HAVE BEEN ENCOUNTERED IN CONDUCTING THE DISCUSSION

IN THE MANNER MY DELEGATION BELIEVES TO BE NECESSARY.

2. THE UNITED STATES HAS APPROACHED THIS FIRST POST-HELSINKI MEETING OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES WITH TWO CENTRAL OBJECTIVES. THE FIRST IS TO JOIN OTHER SOVEREIGN NATIONS IN A THOROUGH EXAMINATION OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT AND OF THE MANNER AND DEGREE TO WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN IMPLEMENTED UNILATERALLY, BILATERALLY AND MULTILATERALLY. THE SECOND CONCERN IS TO DRAW FROM THAT MUTUAL INQUIRY APPROPRIATE CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE FUTURE CONDUCT OF OUR NATIONS -- ACTING ALONE AND ACTING TOGETHER -- TO REALIZE THE BROAD GOALS OF THE FINAL ACT.

3. THE PHASE OF THE CONFERENCE'S WORK KNOWN AS THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION IS NOW ABOUT A MONTH OLD. THE DISCUSSIONS IN THIS INITIAL PERIOD HAVE BEEN, ON THE WHOLE, PRODUCTIVE AND HAVE SET A VALUABLE PRECEDENT FOR SIMILAR MEETINGS OF OUR 35 STATES IN THE FUTURE. THE AMERICAN DELEGATION IS PLEASED, IN GENERAL, THAT IN THE SUBSIDIARY WORKING BODIES THE DEBATE HAS BEEN ORDERLY AND DETAILED. SIGNATORY STATES HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DESCRIBE THEIR OWN ACTIONS IN PURSUIT OF FINAL ACT GOALS, VOICE THEIR CONCERNS
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ABOUT ACTIONS -- OR LACK OF ACTION -- BY OTHER STATES AND HEAR EXPLANATIONS OF CONDUCT WHICH REQUIRED BOTH QUESTIONING AND JUSTIFICATION.

4. IN MANY AREAS, THEN, THE CONFERENCE HAS SHOWN ITSELF CAPABLE OF MAKING A JOINT ACCOUNTING OF PROGRESS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE FINAL ACT. THAT IS NO MEAN FEAT. CONFRONTED WITH THE UNDERTAKINGS GIVEN AT HELSINKI, OUR DELEGATIONS HAVE BEEN ABLE TO EXAMINE NOT JUST THEMSELVES, BUT EACH OTHER -- NOT JUST THE SMOOTH BUT NARROW PATH OF TRADITIONAL COOPERATION, BUT ALSO THE VARIED AND DIFFICULT ISSUES OF INNOVATION.

5. IN THE FIELD OF ECONOMICS, FOR INSTANCE, WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO PROBE THE VERY DISSIMILAR, EVEN DISSONANT PRIORITIES OF MARKET AND NON-MARKET SYSTEMS. IN THE AREA OF HUMAN CONTACTS, WE HAVE BEEN ABLE -- WITH AMPLE JUSTIFICATION -- TO REPROACH ONE ANOTHER FOR THE CONTINUATION OF RESTRICTIVE VISA PRACTICES THAT DO NOT ACCORD WITH THE SPIRIT OF THE FINAL ACT OR THE EXIGENCIES OF A SHRINKING PLANET. IN MATTERS OF INFORMATION -- THOUGH WE HAVE NOT FOUND A COMMON

UNDERSTANDING OF THE VALUE OF SHARING NEWS AND IDEAS -- WE HAVE AT LEAST BEEN ABLE TO HEAR EACH OTHER OUT WITH A MEASURE OF DECORUM.

6. IN SHORT, OUR CONFERENCE HAS SHOWN THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO AIR BOTH COOPERATIVE AND CONFLICTING POINTS OF VIEW. WE HAVE, AT LEAST IN PART, MET THE STANDARD FOR DIALOGUE THE THEN PRIME MINISTER OF SWEDEN PROPOSED IN HIS ADDRESS TO THE HELSINKI SUMMIT. "RESPECT FOR ONE ANOTHER'S SOCIAL SYSTEMS AND THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERVENTION," PREMIER PALME SAID, "SHOULD NOT BE GIVEN TO MEAN THAT THIS EXCHANGE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SHALL BE RESTRICTED TO ASSENT AND JOINT DECLARATIONS. FRANK CRITICISM MUST ALSO BE ALLOWED IN THE FACE OF PHENOMENA SUCH AS THE OPPRESSION OF DISSIDENTS, TORTURE AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION."

7. I NOTED THAT WE HAD MET THAT STANDARD ONLY IN PART. REGRETTABLY, ONE ASPECT OF OUR DISCUSSIONS HAS BEEN REPEATEDLY OBSTRUCTED BY PROCEDURAL INTERVENTIONS DESIGNED TO FRUSTRATE THE "THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS" THE FINAL ACT AND THE CONFERENCE AGENDA PRESCRIBE. I HAVE IN MIND, OF COURSE, THE DISCUSSION IN THE WORKING BODIES OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PRINCIPLE VII OF THE FINAL ACT. TOO OFTEN, WHEN ONE DELEGATION HAS SOUGHT TO EXPRESS ITS CONCERN OVER A CONTINUING PATTERN OF ABUSE OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS IN ONE OR MORE SIGNATORY STATES, THE DELEGATIONS BEING QUESTIONED HAVE NOT ONLY FAILED TO RESPOND TO THE INQUIRIES MADE BUT ALSO HAVE SOUGHT TO DENY THE PROPRIETY OF RAISING SUCH MATTERS AT THIS CONFERENCE.

8. IT IS IMPORTANT FOR OUR WORK IN BELGRADE AND AT FUTURE MEETINGS OF THIS KIND THAT SUCH OBSTRUCTIVE TACTICS BE DECISIVELY REJECTED. OUR DISCUSSIONS MUST BE CONDUCTED WITH CIVILITY AND TACT, BUT THEY MUST ALSO BE WIDE-RANGING ENOUGH TO ENCOMPASS ALL ASPECTS OF FINAL ACT IMPLEMENTATION. NO PARTICIPATING STATE, HAVING AGREED WITH ALL THE SIGNATORIES TO RESPECT BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS, CAN NOW UNILATERALLY DEMAND THAT ITS OWN CONDUCT IN THAT SPHERE BE EXEMPT FROM COMMENT. JUST AS THE CONFERENCE WOULD NOT TURN A BLIND EYE TO INSTANCES OF FRONTIER VIOLATION, SHOULD THOSE OCCUR, SO, TOO, IT CANNOT IGNORE VIOLATIONS OF ANOTHER FUNDAMENTAL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PRINCIPLE OF EUROPEAN SECURITY.

9. OBVIOUSLY, WE CANNOT DISCUSS SUCH MATTERS ONLY IN THE ABSTRACT. WE MUST REFER TO SPECIFIC, CONTINUING PRACTICES WHICH CONTRAVENE PRINCIPLE VII AND TO CONCRETE CASES OF INDIVIDUALS WHOSE RIGHTS -- SET OUT IN PRINCIPLE VII -- HAVE BEEN INFRINGED. THE POINT OF RAISING INDIVIDUAL NAMES IN THE WORKING BODIES OF THE CONFERENCE, HOWEVER, IS NEITHER TO LECTURE NOR SIMPLY TO PROTEST. IT IS NOT DONE, MOREOVER, JUST TO SEEK LIMITED REMEDIES IN ISOLATED INSTANCES. THE EXAMPLES THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION HAS PRESENTED AND WILL CONTINUE TO PRESENT ARE, INSTEAD, ILLUSTRATIVE OF PERSISTENT PRACTICES OR CONDUCT CONTRARY TO THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE FINAL ACT.

10. THUS, IN THE CONTEXT OF HUMAN CONTACTS WE WOULD CITE THE PLIGHT OF GALINA MICHELSON, MARIJA JURGUTIS AND IRINA MCCLELLAN, THREE SOVIET WOMEN WHOSE HUSBANDS IN THE UNITED STATES ARE AND LONG HAVE BEEN SEPARATED FROM THEIR WIVES, THREE FAMILIES WHO HAVE YET TO BENEFIT FROM THE "POSITIVE AND HUMANITARIAN SPIRIT" THE FINAL ACT MAKES THE STANDARD FOR RESOLVING FAMILY REUNIFICATION CASES. SIMILARLY, TO ILLUSTRATE THE LENGTH OF TIME STILL REQUIRED TO ACT MAKES THE STANDARD FOR RESOLVING FAMILY REUNIFICATION CASES. SIMILARLY, TO ILLUSTRATE THE LENGTH OF TIME STILL REQUIRED TO ACT FAVORABLY ON SUCH CASES, THE AMERICAN DELEGATION BELIEVES IT IS APPROPRIATE TO RAISE THE PROBLEMS OF THREE OTHER SOVIET FAMILIES -- THOSE OF VLADIMIR SLEPAK, VLADIMIR PRESTIN AND PAVEL ABRAMOVICH -- ALL OF WHOM HAVE BEEN WAITING SEVEN OR MORE YEARS TO BE REUNITED WITH RELATIVES IN ISRAEL.

11. IN THE FIELD OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, AS WELL, AMERICAN DELEGATES DO NOT SIMPLY RAISE THE QUESTION LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OF WHY SOVIET AUTHORITIES CONTINUE TO HOLD THE REV. GEORGI VINS, THE REV. VASILY ROMANYUY AND MISS NIJOLE SADUNAITE IN PRISON CAMPS FOR ACTING, AS PRINCIPLE VII PROVIDES, ACCORDING TO THE DICTATES OF THEIR CONSCIENCES. THOSE THREE INDIVIDUALS -- A BAPTIST PASTOR, A RUSSIAN ORTHODOX PRIEST AND A CATHOLIC LAYWOMAN -- WERE ARRESTED, TRIED AND SENTENCED BEFORE THE FINAL ACT WAS SIGNED. BUT TO ASK ABOUT THEM IS ALSO TO ILLUSTRATE THE CONCERN OF THE UNITED STATES WITH CATHOLIC LAYMAN, VLADAS LAPIENIS, WITH ORTHODOX LEADER GRIGORI SEKACH, OR WITH BAPTIST PASTORS PYOTR SEREBRENNIKOV AND IVAN SHTEFEN -- ALL OF WHOM HAVE BEEN IMPRISONED IN THE USSR ON SIMILAR CHARGES SINCE THE HELSINKI SUMMIT.

12. FINALLY, OF COURSE, WHEN DELEGATES HERE EXPRESS THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF THE IMPROPRIETY -- IN TERMS OF PRINCIPLE VII -- OF THE TRIALS OF JURI LEDERER, FRANTISEK PAVLICEK AND VACLAV HAVEL IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA OR OF MYKOLA RUDENKO AND OLEKSEI TYKHY IN THE UKRAINE, THOSE INDIVIDUALS STAND AS EXEMPLARS OF ALL THE MEN AND WOMEN WHO HAVE BEEN OR MAY BE MADE TO SUFFER CRIMINAL PENALTIES FOR THEIR FAITHFULNESS TO THE GOALS OF THE FINAL ACT ITSELF. IT WOULD BE JUST AS MUCH A VIOLATION OF THE SPIRIT OF HELSINKI TO IGNORE SUCH CONDUCT AS IT IS TO AUTHORIZE IT.

13. SOME DAYS AGO THE DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SOVIET UNION VOICED HIS CONCERN THAT AN EXAMINATION OF SUCH DETAILS OF IMPLEMENTATION COULD SOMEHOW UNDERMINE THE BRIDGES SO LABORIOUSLY BUILT OVER THE LAST DECADE BETWEEN THE PARTICIPATING STATES. MY BELIEF, ON THE CONTRARY, IS THAT THOSE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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BRIDGES ARE ONLY AS STRONG AS THEIR FOUNDATIONS. IT IS THE PRIMARY ROLE OF THIS CONFERENCE TO PROBE THE FOUNDATIONS, TO SEE HOW STRONG THEY REALLY ARE AND HOW GREAT A TRAFFIC THE STRUCTURES TO WHICH THEY ARE ANCHORED WILL BEAR.

14. IT IS IN ALL OUR INTERESTS AND IN THE INTEREST OF THE CSCE PROCESS TO STRENGTHEN THOSE FOUNDATIONS AND TO INCREASE THAT TRAFFIC. THE REVIEW WE ARE CONDUCTING IS DESIGNED PRECISELY TO EXPLORE THE UNDERSTANDINGS WE HAVE REACHED AND TO INSURE THAT THERE ARE NO MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT THEIR MEANING. ONLY IF THAT EXAMINATION PROCEEDS CANDIDLY AND STUDIOUSLY, CAN WE BE CERTAIN, AS WE MOVE TO THE NEXT PHASE OF OUR WORK, THAT WE HAVE BUILT SOLIDLY ENOUGH TO BE ABLE TO EXPAND AND INCREASE OUR MUTUAL EFFORTS. END TEXT.

15. TO REPEAT, HERE ARE THE CORRECT SPELLINGS OF SOVIET AND CZECH NAMES APPEARING IN PARAGRAPHS TEN, ELEVEN AND TWELVE: GALINA MICHELSON, MARIJA JURGUTIS, IRINA MCCLELLAN; VLADIMIR SLEPAK, VLADIMIR PRESTIN, PAVEL ABRAMOVICH; GEORGI VINS, VASILY ROMANYUK, NIJOLE SADUNAITE, VLADAS LAPIENIS, GRIGORI SEKACH, PYOTR SEREBRENNIKOV, IVAN SHTEFEN; JIRI LEDERER, FRANTISEK PAVLICEK, VACLAV HAVEL, MYKOLA RUDENKO AND OLEKSEI TYKHY. PLEASE NOTE THAT THE LETTER J IN THE NAMES OF MARIJA JURGUTIS AND NIJOLE SADUNAITE IS PRONOUNCED AS THOUGH IT WERE A Y.

VANCE

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